

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## THE PRICE

of the REGISTER will be, to commence with the following Number, *One Shilling*.

## TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

No. 167, Fleet Street, 13th August, 1835.

It is now two months, and during the issuing of eight numbers, that this work has contained, on the part of the Editor, excuses for not performing adequately, or, indeed, at all, his duty in that capacity. I have hitherto declined giving the real and true reasons which would show the means employed lately,

and which have had the effect of nearly destroying this work, and, but for the singular indulgence of the public, must have totally destroyed it, so far as I or as any of my father's family were concerned. But, justice to myself and to all of us, requires that I should, if not now, very soon, give a *narrative of my employment* during this time; and, then, the impartial reader will only be surprised that I have not yielded to the disgraceful and abominable terms which have been proposed to me for the abandonment of this work; because, however repugnant the disgrace and abomination would have been, the avoiding of them has been almost miraculous! I will not, however, now or hereafter, as at present advised, occupy the pages of the REGISTER with this narrative, and force my private affairs upon the readers of this expensive work; but, I will, at all events give those readers an opportunity of judging as to my conduct during the whole of the affair. I am speaking of, either by publication in a cheap form,

unstamped, or by a *supplement*: and I will for the present week, content myself by saying, that a

### CHANCERY-SUIT,

commenced just after I stated, on the 11th July, that this REGISTER should be conducted wholly and entirely by persons of my father's family and name, giving reasons for it; that a Chancery-suit, which I had not my eye on when I was notifying this, and which I could not know was to be made the instrument *for defeating me in that intention*: this Chancery-suit commenced then instantly, and since carried on with an unheard-of virulence and by a *conspiracy of circumstances* more complete and detestable than was ever known, has really so completely taken up my time, that writing any thing else than about it, was altogether out of the question. The reader will please to observe, that as to throwing aside private affairs of comparative insignificance in order to reserve my whole strength for my public duty, this would have been very obvious for me to do, by choice; but a suit in Chancery, carried on and followed up in the unusual manner I have hinted at, puts a man in such extreme peril, that he

literally does not know which way to turn, to avoid forfeiting some penalty, or committing some contempt, the which latter would in my case have been complete ruin, because, besides devastation of property from absence, my loss of personal liberty would incapacitate me, for business. The last number contained some hints at my losses in the agricultural way from this cause; and, just as I have been compelled to abandon fields in the midst of harvest of all sorts of grain and seeds and in the midst of rearing all sorts of crops, I have, just in the same way, found it literally impossible, to attend, in any way whatever, to the *Register*. I have merely caused it to be issued, that the readers of it might not forget it altogether; and, I have issued it, of course, at a price the lowest for which it could be done without losing a great deal. I have been losing by this, but I was very well content to lose something, rather than attempt to profit by that to which I had really not been able to contribute anything worth payment.

My affair at law is now settled, to my satisfaction. I beg to assure the public that any man might be worried



in the same manner, by any other man or men; and, that this I shall most amply show as I have above stated. It puts me in mind of a story told to my father by Mr. EWING, a lawyer of Philadelphia, where a lawyer is attorney also: this gentleman was one day called upon by an old German, who, laying down a bag of dollars upon the table, proceeded to give orders for bringing an action against a certain young Irishman for looking at the German's young wife: Mr. EWING, however (little gentlemen of his profession are generally disposed to speak in dissuasive tones, was of opinion that this was not good grounds of action; upon which, the German vehemently demanded if he were not at liberty to bring a "*spite action*?" "oh yes, certainly," said Mr. attorney and counsellor, "we can go to law with him and put him to expence." It is something in this way that the wise provisions of the law have been usurped against me, though upon a much more serious motive, which has been the prime mover of the conspiracy I have mentioned. But, my affair has lasted quite long enough, had it not been for the very extraordinary interest which the public

have shown in the desire that this *Register* should be continued, in the same name, to have otherwise completely destroyed this work.

Being now no longer in constant suspense, as to forfeitures, committals for contempt of Court, things, I am sure, which I am one of the last men to deserve; being now master of myself, and of my time, I shall proceed in the performance of my public duty to the best of my ability. I beg to repeat, that I have insinuated nothing, above, as to the base attempts to put me down, which I shall not only establish but more than establish; and, which it must be my duty to establish, because, my *character* is of far greater consequence in befitting me for editor of this work, than any talent I may or could have: for, without being ready to have every action of my life descanted upon, and every private note I ever wrote published; without I am morally ready to *strip*, as the boxers say, I am wholly unfit to put my name to this work: and, whether I am ready to strip, with certain country attorneys and bankers, commonly called *scuts*, and whom my Father always called *skunks*, my narrative will show: give me no

*whitc-washing*, I say to such men; no white-washing in the shape of *stout swearing to character*, but let us look a little steadily into *facts*!

Mentioning attorneys, nobody is more beholden to attorneys than I am; but, as my Father never spoke of attorneys without observing the wide distinctions which there are in that most important branch of the legal profession, so must I now, verily believing that there are as many sorts of attorneys as there are of fishes, it being well ascertained that some are clearly of the species of the *shark*: of all sharks, however, I think it certain, that your little, vulgar, strutting, broad-brimmed country Don, with all his little affectation of superior order and influence, would, if one could have the honour of the acquaintance of the watery shark, be found to most nearly correspond to that species.

WM. COBBETT, JUNR.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

I find I have more room than time, but, I have enough of the latter to assure the *skunks*, who have dared to

conceive the idea that they, by their tricks and quirks, and the *conspiracy of circumstances*, can put me down, that they shall soon see to the contrary, through the pages of this *Register*, the extinction of which is the end of all their tricks, direct or indirect. They may do me and those in some measure dependant on me great pecuniary injury, and cause great present inconvenience, but that is all, and the inconvenience is got over, and I may now, in the words of Hamlet, where he taxes the bald skull of a lawyer with the tricks, capiascs, and quiddits (to which I will add "*alias writs*") of the learned defunct: I may now ask all bald-pated skunks, where will be the good of hunting me or endeavouring to hunt me within an inch of my life, if the "*quiddits*" and the "*alias writs*" have perhaps saved my life, and if they really be the chief source of support to my publication. I assure the skunks that they have found me a most timely diversion. Nothing is so fatal to efforts of the mind as *lowness of spirits*; and, I felt this lowness in myself, and found it in all belonging to me, growing on us in place of wearing away; and I saw no



prospect but that of sinking into an irretrievable state of despondency. If I were to say that the thought of the resource of ROMEO never entered my mind I should not confess the truth; and, just when I was in this state, as may be perceived by the *Register* of 4th July, some skunks were preparing a dose for me, quite as effectual for the present disease, but, as I now find, very happy in its consequent effects. A suit in Chancery, carried on without quarter, long bills, motions, injunctions to prevent one enjoying one's own, and all the consequent means of giving discredit, are things to find one pretty constant occupation; then, the scene being laid in both town and country, and affairs pressing every where; the affairs being of totally different kinds one from the other: all this together was so much *more than I could manage*, that it shut out all the reflections with which I had been overpowered. And, as for the suit itself, even the dread of the Court of Chancery (enhanced very much by my in-bred respect for that Court), nothing that could be done unto me in the way of persecution through such means could cause suffering to be

compared to what I had endured and what I thought I must endure as long as I lived!

So that, I most heartily thank the skunks for the great service they have been so industrious and keen in rendering me; though I fear my thanks may be received with an awkward grace.

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### THE CONTENTS

Of this number will be found to be interesting in no small degree. From the cause I have stated, I can do justice to none of them, though there are some which call for particular notice and even explanation. The reader will find several articles relating to France, now of the most interesting nature, and demanding the attention of every one. Under this head, a correspondent calls in question my statement with regard to the funds in France; but my correspondent is wrong, not I, as he will see, unless he countermand his order for the *Register*: which if he do, how am I to make good my statement, which was

certainly, a fact of no little importance. I promise to show, that *though the fundholders of France were ruined* (as the small fundholders will be here) *the tax on account of funds was not reduced*. It was suspended for awhile ; but renewed, and with redoubled severity, as it now continues, and which continuing is the cause of the state of things which we now see in that country.

I so detest the *National Guard* of France, about which so many fine things have been said ; it is such a humbug for real national defence, and so effective in persecuting the people, that I entertain for it nothing short of detestation. Mr. SHEIL says that we *cannot detest and despise the same object* : as to the grammar or rhetoric of expressing myself to this effect, I will leave that to him, but his rhetoric shall not persuade me that I do not most cordially entertain the two feelings expressed by these words, with regard to this *National Guard*. The reader will excuse my presenting him with a few lines of description, in French, lately received from Paris. It is a most unexaggerated and faithful de-

scription of their appearance and manners, which were always the same, from the first institution of this order of base though voluntary soldiery. The beheaded Queen of France at that time said of them.

"C'est de la belle fayence bleue,  
"Mais cela n'ira pas au feu :"

*that is fine blue ware, but it will not stand fire*. As to the political conduct of this ridiculous army, this is not ridiculous ; for upon this army depends the fate of the Jews in France, whose persecutions of the people have been upheld for, now, five whole years.

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## FRANCE.

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THE reader will find below a new law which has been proposed by the law-officer of the French government (M. Persil) for effectually curbing the press. It is most effectual, certainly, so long as it shall be carried into effect. It really seems to dispute the old adage, "a cat may look at a king ;" for, by this law, the king, nor his office, *are not to be named nor alluded to!* of course, the government will grant its dispensations, so that the French papers will 'henceforth contain, with regard to the king or his government, nothing whatever but the most fulsome adulation. It will, in fact,



put the whole press upon a competition with the *Moniteur*, that is to say, make them rivals of the official paper, which is the property of the government, in eulogising that government. The partialities which may be exercised, in giving this *permission to praise*, can be imagined better than described, together with all the *wheels within wheels* which must work in such a case. In short, one word of truth cannot now be expected.

After this terrible law against the press, which must strike every one is the paltry attempts which are made, by corruption, in France and elsewhere, to procure it to be believed *Girard* or *Fiesci*, which latter it appears is the man's real name; that this man is a strange, isolated, half-idiotic individual, without accomplices or supporters. And we are called upon to believe that, while he had planned and had brought to perfection his scheme, so as to have actually put it in execution, without the co-operation of any one; that now, when the bloodiness of his purpose is discovered, there is something in it so likely to act by way of example, that the whole of the press are to be suspected of inculcating that example: and, this is the end of five years of that government which was founded by means of the press, upon an overthrow of the former government in consequence of proceedings not a thousandth part so humiliating adopted against this same press!

The chief difference in the two cases is, that CHARLES X. attempted his

coercion of the press without the concurrence of the Chambers: he proceeded of his own authority upon a certain article (14) of the Charter, and by which article he was so far warranted in his ordonnance, that the Chambers thought proper, with as little delay as possible, to repeal this clause of the Charter. Now, LOUIS PHILIPPE's proceeding is by a regular act to be passed by the Chambers. To be sure! Provided the enormity have the *form of law*, have the concurrence of the representatives of the people, the enormity itself is popular! This puts one in mind of the observation of a gentleman of New York, to Mr. COBBETT, in 1819, when the latter was about to take his departure for England: the gentleman, who had had an unusual degree of experience, endeavoured to mitigate the feelings of Mr. Cobbett with regard to the "Boroughmongers:" he said, "now you are going to carry on "the war with your Boroughmongers, "whom you so cordially hate; but "let me tell you, that you have no "tyrants in England, or even in any "avowed despotic government, to be "compared in degree of the tyranny "which they exercise, with our freely "elected republican rulers of this city of "New York." This gentleman then related some instances of this tyranny, and of the total subjection of property to the corrupt will of a law-making assembly, elected by ballot, and with all the forms of freedom. This city of New York, in short, is a fair specimen

of what are likely to be the effects of *Corporation Reform* in England, which is no doubt a reform of many abuses, but, without proof that more and greater abuses will not succeed, and, on the contrary, with experience to warrant this apprehension.

I copy some observations from the *Standard*, upon this law of the press, by which it will appear that the Tories (the insipid Tories!) hardly know what to think of the matter!

(From the *Standard*, Aug. 11.)

The controversy as to what were the motives, and who the instigators of Fiesci's attempt on the King's life, still goes on as vehemently as ever in the French newspapers. The Republicans attribute it to the Carlists—the Carlists to the Republicans—and a new suspicion appears to be arising, that it may be traced to the Buonapartists. Some papers wish to implicate the Duchess of Berri in the crime, but without any evidence, which all runs the contrary way. The murderer himself has made no disclosures, or they have not been communicated to the public. The Court of Peers has been for some days sitting with closed doors, and it is said they have agreed on sentences of long imprisonment, fine, and even transportation to Africa, upon the prisoners of Lyons. In a day or two these sentences will be officially promulgated, but nothing appears to be doing with respect to the prisoners of Paris, or other towns. Accounts from Strasburg state that the *fêtes* of "the three glorious days" passed off there without exciting the slightest enthusiasm, but in general addresses of the most loyal character pour in from the different cities and departments of France. The laws against the press are in progress, and will undoubtedly be carried. Some Whig papers here accuse the Tory journals of disapproving of these laws out of spleen against the Monarch of the barricades. For our own parts, we cannot plead guilty to the accusation. Under existing circumstances we do not feel any spleen of the kind; but we have at all times, to the utmost of our power, protested against acts of tyrannical oppres-

sion, no matter from what quarter they have emanated. Looking on the question from much lower ground, we consider M. Persil's new law as most impolitic, so far as the security of the reigning dynasty in France is concerned. The Carlists must, in their secret souls, rejoice at the passing of this bill, for it will destroy the popularity which naturally attached to Louis Philippe, in consequence of the late attempt at assassination.

## FRENCH PRESS.

NEW LAW AGAINST THE PRESS, PROPOSED IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, AUGUST 4th.

CHAP. I.—CRIMES, OFFENCES, AND MISDEMEANOURS, BY MEANS OF THE PRESS, OR ANY OTHER MODE OF PUBLICATION.

Article 1. Every offence against the person of the King, whether by one of the means mentioned in Art. I of the law of 17th May, 1819, or any other mode of publication, is an attempt against the safety of the state. Whoever shall be found guilty of the same, shall be punished with detention, and a fine varying from 10,000 francs to 50,000 francs.

2. Whoever shall by the same means have endeavoured to turn into ridicule the person and authority of the King, shall be condemned to imprisonment for a term varying from six months to five years, and to a fine varying from 500 to 10,000 francs. The offender shall moreover be deprived of the whole or part of the rights mentioned in Article 42, of the Penal Code, for the entire duration of his penalty, and for a term equal to that of the imprisonment to which he may have been condemned.

3. In discussing the acts of government, it is forbidden to introduce the name of the King, either directly, indirectly, or by allusion. The author of an offence herein shall be punished with imprisonment, for a term varying from one month to one year, and with a fine varying from 500 to 5000 francs.



4. Any attack by one of the same means against the principle and the form of the King's government, as established by the constitutional charter of 1810; any direct or indirect provocation to change them, is an attempt against the safety of the state. Whoever shall be found guilty of it shall be punished with detention, and a fine varying from 10,000 to 50,000 francs.

5. Whoever shall have publicly manifested his adhesion to another form of government, either by assuming the qualification of a Republican, or by expressing a wish, hope, or threat, for the destruction of the monarchical or constitutional order, shall be condemned to imprisonment for a term varying from six months to five years, and to a fine varying from 500 francs to 10,000 francs.

6. Whoever shall have publicly attributed the right to the throne of France, either to one of the members of the family condemned to perpetual exile by the law of the 10th of April, 1832, or to any other than Louis Philippe I. and his descendants; whoever shall have expressed a wish, a hope, or threat for the restoration of the fallen government, shall be condemned to imprisonment for a term varying from six months to five years, and to a fine varying from 500 francs to 10,000 francs.

7. The disposition of the laws at present in force against offences of the press, and not contrary to the present law, shall continue to be executed; nevertheless, in the event of two condemnations in the course of one year, against the same individual, or the same journal, the penalties may be augmented to the double of the maximum, and, in the case of the periodical press, to four times the amount of the maximum. The penalties, which may be successively pronounced, shall not be confounded with each other, and shall be all undergone to their full extent.

8. It is forbidden to open and publicly announce subscriptions tending to annul judicial condemnations. The offender therein shall be punished correctionally with imprisonment, for a term varying from one month to one year, and with a fine varying from 500 to 5000 francs.

9. It is also forbidden, under the same penalties, to publish either before or after the sentence the names of the jury, who may have sat upon a case, or to give an account of their internal deliberations.

#### CHAP. II.—GERANTS OF JOURNALS AND PERIODICAL WRITINGS.

10. Conformably to the article 8 of the law of July the 8th, 1828, the Gerant of a journal, or periodical writing, shall be bound to sign each number of his journal. Any Gerant who may beforehand have signed a blank sheet, shall be punished correctionally with imprisonment, for a term varying from one month to one year, and with a fine varying from 500 to 3000 francs.

11. Every Gerant shall be bound to publish in his journal, receiving payment for the insertion, the information of rectification addressed to him by the government with regard to facts stated in his journal. In case of refusal on his part, he may be punished correctionally with imprisonment for a term varying from one month to one year, and with a fine varying from 500 to 5000 francs.

12. In case of judicial proceedings, the Gerant shall always be compelled to make known the author or authors of the inculpatated articles: should he refuse to do so, or make an incorrect declaration, he may be punished correctionally for that fact alone with imprisonment, for a term varying from one month to one year, and with a fine varying from 1000 to 5000 francs.

13. In case of the condemnation of a Gerant for a crime, offence, or misdemeanour of the press, the publication of a journal or periodical writing can be continued pending the entire duration of the penalty only by a new Gerant, who shall fulfil all the conditions required by the law.

#### CHAP. III.—DRAWINGS, ENGRAVINGS, LITHOGRAPHIC PRINTS AND EMBLEMS.

14. No engravings, drawings, lithographic prints, or emblems of any description can be published, exposed, or sold, without the authorisation, in Paris,

of the Minister of the Interior, and in the departments of the Prefect. In case of contravention of the present article, all the objects exposed for sale shall be confiscated, and the author and publisher shall be condemned correctionally to a fine varying from 100 francs to 1000 francs, and to imprisonment for a term varying from one month to one year, without prejudice to the other condemnations which they may have incurred.

#### CHAP. IV.—THEATRES AND THEATRICAL PIECES.

15. No individual can establish a theatre of any description, either in Paris or in the departments, without previous authorisation obtained, in Paris, from the Minister of the Interior, and in the departments from the Prefect. The same authorisation must be obtained for the pieces to be represented. Offences herein shall be punished correctionally with imprisonment, varying from one month to one year, and with a fine varying from 1000 to 5000 francs, without prejudice to the proceedings to which the pieces represented may give rise.

16. In case of disturbances, scandal, infraction of the laws, ordonnances, and regulations, the authorisation granted either for the establishment of a theatre, or for the representation of a dramatic piece, may be withdrawn. These dispositions, and that contained in the preceding article, are applicable to the existing theatres. The police of the theatres shall be determined by private regulation.

#### CHAP. V.—PROSECUTION AND JUDGMENT.

17. The law officers of the crown shall have the power of citing the accused parties directly before the Court of Assizes, conformably to the law of April 8, 1831, even when there may have been a previous seizure of writings, drawings, engravings, lithographic prints, or emblems. Nevertheless, in the latter case, the citation can be made only after the proces-verbal of the seizure shall have been signified to the accused party.

18. The accused party, being duly

summoned, shall appear personally, or shall be represented by a special party authorised by him. Should he deem it expedient to apply for a postponement of judgment, he must state his reasons to the court, which may admit or reject them. In any case, whether the accused party appear or not, or the court refuse the postponement demanded, the decision on the ground of the offence shall always be definitive. No opposition on the part of accused individuals can be admitted, unless proof be given that he has been irregularly or incompletely summoned. In that case, the opposition must be formed within ten days at latest after the decision has been made known.

19. The appeal to the Court of Cassation against the decisions which may have been made upon the incidental matter, shall be formed only after the definitive decision, and at the same time as the appeal against that decision. No appeal formed previously shall release the Court of Assizes from the necessity of deciding upon the grounds of the offence.

20. If when the law officers of the crown exercise their action, the session of the Court of Assizes should be terminated, and if there be no immediate prospect of the opening of another, an extraordinary Court of Assizes shall be formed by means of an ordonnance with motive from the first President. This ordonnance shall prescribe the drawing by lot of the jury, conformably to article 388 of the Code of Criminal Instruction, and shall appoint the counsellor who is to preside. In the chief towns of departments, where no royal courts sit, the President of the Tribunal of First Instance shall of right be President of the Court, unless the Minister of Justice or the First President shall have appointed another.

21. The dispositions of former laws, not contrary to the present, should continue to be executed according to their form and tenour.

The minister proceeded to read another bill relative to the jury. Its principal dispositions consist in—1. The authorisation of the secret vote by jury; and 2. In empowering a jury to pronounce a sentence of condemnation by a majority of 7 to 5.



## FRENCH REVOLUTION.

SIR,

I have not yet recalled my order for the *Register*, but I think it very doubtful if you can continue it successfully on the same plan. Experience has shown that all periodicals necessarily write themselves out, and that was even shown while the paper was in your Father's hands.

In the last No., August 1st, speaking of the occurrences of 1790 in France, you enumerate various things and orders which were abolished and sequestered, and then you say, all this was done, "but the reduction of the debt, which "was never reduced one farthing." Now in this you are wrong. France had but a small public debt, but the people in those heated times spunged off two-thirds, and paid one-third to the creditors. It was afterwards discovered that this step was unnecessary, for truly the debt was trivial, as it is now, but the thing was done, and could not be recalled. For several years no rentes were paid, and they counted up a third part and its interest, and opened a new book for it. The present Lord Dundas and other Englishman were creditors, and not having lodged their claims in due time, as appointed by the Emperor, or not having had the opportunity, they received plack and farthing at the conclusion of the war. Such people of this country as proved their debts, got their dividends regularly during the war, at 5 per cent. on their third part consolidated.

When the French entered Holland, they found the pecuniary affairs of that country in a bad situation. The famous Bank of Amsterdam, which was supposed to be full of ingots of gold and silver, and of precious stones, contained little of these commodities; they were not insolvent, however, but they had lent the money to the Government and the Dutch East India Company, who were insolvent. They, like the French, calculated up a third part and its interest, consolidating the same at two and a half per cent., which is just the half of what France paid.

After this, when the French run up matters at Venice, they found the affairs of that great Bank sound, and paid every creditor in full. As to Parma and other small states which they took into their confederation, finding the public debt not exceeding the means of such states, they declared the public debts part of the debt of the empire.

In England, at our Revolution, we paid ten shillings in the pound. That is, the revolutionary government took the creditors into Chancery, and litigated with them ten years, after which they took it into their heads to acknowledge the debt, but without interest.

It was the church and the privileged orders that bore down the people of France, and not its debt. It is, to a great extent, different with our realm.

## NATIONAL GUARD.

Du revue aux Tuileries,  
De garde au Palais Royale,  
Faisant mille égaucheries,  
Parlant beaucoup et marchant mal,  
Pour faire enrager les filles,  
Pour chiffonner leurs appas,  
Pour ouvrir et fermer les grilles,  
Pour chasser les chiens et les chats,  
Pour cela, le garde nationale est là!

## PARLIAMENTARY COMMENTARY.

London, August 4th.

THE chief events of any political interest this week have been two, the debates upon what is called the "Municipal Reform Bill," and the "West India Loan." Of the first little need be said at present, though the subject may be taken up again at some more fitting opportunity; for this week it will be sufficient to observe that it is one of the usual tricks of the Whig faction at present ruling in our country, and a mighty fuss they make about it. And why? Because they are like many charitable folks who give the poor some *bone soup*, which costs nothing, in order to establish for themselves a high character for generosity without expense. Just so

with these Whigs ministers ; they want to keep their places—in order to do so they wish to be popular—in order to be popular they well know that they must be Reformers. So like the would-be charitable people just mentioned, they have set on foot a “Municipal Reform,” and a very pretty sounding word “Municipal” is. It is derived from the old Latin word “Municipalis,” which means a Borough, or, more properly, things belonging to a Borough. So that this pretty phrase “Municipal Reform,” means a Reform of Boroughs—that is, of the property belonging to Boroughs ;—property which has been acquired by wills, gifts, &c., but which these “Whig,” alias “sham,” Reformers, wish to be now managed by a greater number of persons than heretofore, and so think because they may prevent a few Aldermen from swallowing a few good dinners, that the country will be thereby much benefited ; as if the trough would get fuller by allowing more hogs to feed at it. Now I think, and perhaps you, my readers, will agree with me, that to nine-tenths, aye, or to 999 in 1000, of the men, women, and children in England, that the whole affair does not signify three farthings. So much for the Whigs, and for their sham Reform to gull the people and gain popularity ; a subject on which I have spent more words than I had at first intended. Let us turn to the chief subject of the day, a loan of fifteen millions of pounds sterling, in other words, borrowing that enormous sum for what ? Why to pay the Proprietors of Slaves in the West Indies for “emancipating” them. Now there is another very pretty word “emancipation,” or setting free. But here again is another beautiful humbug ; this immense sum, it is professed, is to be paid for the emancipation of these black men, but in such a hurry are these whiglings to prove themselves sham Reformers, and only sham Reformers, that, while they pretend to relieve us by their boasted “Municipal Reform,” they really and effectually saddle us and our children with the interest of this loan before the emancipation has taken place ; for these slaves are so far from being yet emancipated,

that, under the name of apprentices, they are still, for some years to come, as effectually bound to their masters as ever they were, and will remain so till the expiration of the seven years ; and even then, when they are set free, whether they will realise the predictions of our Saints, who have urged on this important measure and its vast expenses, or whether these people will form only a band of desperate banditti, remains to be proved ; and, unfortunately, there is but too much reason to fear the worst ; for these people, these black men, I mean, are born in an exceeding warm climate, where but little labour is required to support life, and where Nature, acting with her usual consistency, has not endowed the children of the soil with that degree of hardihood and patient industry which enables the inhabitants of this country, uncoerced by watchful taskmasters, to work unrepiningly through the live long day. But of this more anon : our present subject is the loan ; it has been, and it will be much talked of ; but to most of us, engaged as we are and as I hope we always shall be, from morn to dewy eve, in our several employments, a word or two of explanation may perhaps be desirable. The sum which it has been agreed to pay to the proprietors of slaves, as a compensation for giving up the ownership of them, is twenty millions of pounds sterling. Of this sum, for some reasons not necessary to be explained here, one-fourth is to remain unpaid for the present ; therefore this loan is for fifteen millions ; and the roundabout way in which it is to be managed is thus,—the money is to be paid by Mr. Nathan Meyer Rothschild, at the Bank of England, in various instalments of part payments, which commenced on Thursday last, and will not be all paid till ; and for every 100*l.* so paid by Mr. Rothschild, and those whom he has accommodated with a slice of his loan, they are to receive, according to the usual way of expressing it, as follows:—

75*l.* Consolidated 3 per cent. Annuities,

25*l.* Reduced ditto,



And, 13s. 7d. Long Annuities, terminable in January, 1860.

Now this way of explaining the matter is all very comprehensible to those who are well versed in this thing, and in the habit of worshipping the money monster, and so get their living without any bodily labour, or, in other words, without being useful members of the community among whom they live; consumers of the produce of the soil, without ever doing any benefit to their fellow-creatures. But as I hope that there are few such among my readers, I will now proceed to make this matter a little clearer. For every 100*l.* which the government receive, they have agreed to pay, by half yearly payments, in the months of January and July in every year, the interest of 75*l.* Consols, which will amount to 2*l.* 5*s.* per annum; and in the same manner, in April and October, the interest of 25*l.* Reduced, amounting to 15*s.* per annum, and in the same months, the 13*s.* 7*d.* Long Annuities. Now mark, these sums added together will make for every 100*l.* a yearly payment as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Interest on 75 <i>l.</i> Consols	2	5	0
Ditto 25 <i>l.</i> Reduced	0	15	0
Ditto 13 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> Long Annuities	0	13	7
Total	£3	13	7

That is, for every 100*l.*, but upon the fifteen millions will amount to an annual payment of 544,375*l.* a-year: of this sum the payment of 101,875*l.* will cease in the year 1860, but the remaining sum of 442,500*l.* a-year will remain as a permanent addition to the enormous sum of thirty millions a year with which we are already saddled, and, if faith be kept with the public creditor, will so remain until the debt is paid in full.

Some of the foregoing details will, I fear, be found rather dull, as most matters of fact unfortunately are; but it will bring us to this conclusion, that the worthies whom it is the fashion to call saints, have, for the purpose of

carrying their own very doubtful theories into practice, saddled us and our children with a yearly payment, by means of taxes, of 544,375*l.* in addition to the load of taxes, which is already well nigh breaking our backs. So much for Blacks, Jews, Saints, and Ministers, of all of whom, perhaps, every reader who has had patience to travel with me thus far has had enough.

### CORPORATION TRIAL.

The following are the *reasons* given by certain noble lords against hearing the Corporations in their defence. Reasons are generally worthy of attention, at least, which is all I can say of the following, and so saying, leave them to the better judgment of the reader.

#### PROTEST AGAINST HEARING EVIDENCE AGAINST THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATION BILL.

Dissentient:—1. Because we consider the provisions of this bill, which is neither a private bill nor a bill of pains and penalties, but one of a general and remedial nature, as not affording any reason for the admission of evidence that would not have applied equally to a great number of other legislative measures which have been passed through both Houses of Parliament, without the proposition of such an examination of witnesses ever having been made.

2. Because evidence has been tendered and refused by this house in former cases, where individual interests of property were at least equally involved.

3. Because the evidence tendered in this instance was all for the purpose of proving facts which are not necessarily in issue between those who support and those who oppose the passing of this bill—facts all of which may be admitted to be true without the least impeachment of the principle of the measure, or any of its details.

4. Because the main ground of complaint, and the chief reason urged for receiving evidence is not any objection to the provisions of the bill, but an objection to one part of its preamble—

which might be entirely omitted without any prejudice to the bill.

5. Because the evidence tendered relates almost exclusively to the conduct of the commissioners, appointed to inquire into the state of Municipal Corporations, and the report of these commissioners. Whereas their conduct forms no part of the question raised by the bill now brought before the house, and the report is no necessary part of that measure.

6. Because, if evidence is to be received upon the ground that certain parties conceive themselves aggrieved by a certain report, or by the conduct of certain commissioners, and not in proof of any injury apprehended from a measure before the house, there is no reason why evidence should not be received to rebut the matters contained in any report or any other document laid upon the table of this house, and proceeding from any quarter whatever, even if no legislative measure should have been grounded thereupon, nor any proceeding of the house proposed to be adopted in connexion therewith.

7. Because the admission of evidence, beside establishing a precedent for an indulgence which tends directly to impede our legislative functions, must in this instance consume the time of the house, without giving any material assistance to the discussion of the subject, while it places in jeopardy the passing of a bill called for by every consideration of sound policy, and by a due regard to the rights of the people.

8. Because when we assented to the application for hearing the case argued by counsel, we did so protesting against its being either necessary or justifiable, but in order to remove all possible ground of complaint, and in the firm belief that it was the intention of the house to confine the proceeding at the bar to hearing the arguments of two counsel.

BROUGHAM,	DUNCANNON,
VASSAL HOLLAND,	QUEENSBERRY,
CLEVELAND,	ALBEMARLE,
THANET,	TORRINGTON,
MELBOURNE,	Except 8th reason,
LANSDOWNE,	SOMERHILL.
PLUNKETT.	

## POLITICAL ECONOMY.

OPINION OF

### FREDERICK THE GREAT.

"I hate the accumulation of riches by individuals; in good policy they ought to be distributed. The strength of a state consists in the welfare of its people, not in the wealth accumulated in a few of its cities, and among some of its opulent inhabitants. The people more readily part with a portion of their necessities, than rich individuals with their superfluities. To enrich the court, is to impoverish the provinces. I have rendered many around me discontented, but the reflection that the people would be something less so consoled me. A state is soon deprived of its resources when the people is in distress. The power of the English nation resides in the wealth of its husbandmen and mechanics; the poverty of those classes is the torment of France. Riches in possession of the people favour population and procure plenty; they are like the blood in the arteries, which produces growth and vigour; but, if engrossed elsewhere, they only promote luxury; which is always on the look out after distant and foreign objects."

## ADDRESS

FROM THE RADICAL REFORMERS OF  
MANCHESTER AND SALFORD.

TO MRS. COBBETT.

MADAM,

THE members of the Radical Reformers' Association of Manchester and Salford beg leave to offer to you and to your family their affectionate condolence in a loss, which, though it must be felt most deeply by those who were con-



nected with the great departed by the endearing ties of domestic intercourse, is the common regret of every Englishman who has a heart to feel for the honour of his country.

To that grief of which the poignancy can be felt only by the wife and child; which is the offspring of sensibility, which must be indulged before it can be relieved, and which is but renewed by every recollection of the worth of the object of it, we affect not to offer consolation; but it is to us a duty, which we hope will not be displeasing to you, to take this solemn occasion of expressing to those in whom our departed friend was the most interested, our sympathy with their private sorrows, our sense of the weight of the public loss, and our admiration of the genius, our respect for the virtues, our gratitude for the services, and our reverential homage for the memory of him whom England will for ever rank among the brightest of her ornaments, the bravest of her defenders, and the greatest of her benefactors.

It is from the void which he has left behind him that we begin to understand the whole extent of the space which he filled; and there is not a public event which arises, not a public discussion which takes place, that we are not obliged to ask, without an answer:—

“Where is now the guardian of the  
“rights of the people; the defence and  
“refuge of the oppressed; the detector  
“of political imposture; the exploder of  
“mercenary sophistry; the unfolders of  
“the law and the constitution; the

“beacon of true reformers; the lamp of  
“the public mind?” But, it is as dangers shall thicken around us; those dangers so long foreseen by his penetrating sagacity, so often foreshown in the eloquence of his prophetic warnings; so vainly resisted by genius never surpassed, by industry never equalled, by patriotism without a parallel; it is when the gathered clouds and muttering thunder, and all the portents of coming convulsion shall have stilled into trembling silence the yelping of the curs of faction; when fear would be forward to concede what could not be extorted from respect or gratitude; and when selfishness, awakened to a sense of danger, would hasten to give place to wisdom, to resolution, to self-denial, to justice; it is when England shall in vain seek refuge in the character of a man in whom universal assent should recognise these attributes; it is then that it will be felt and acknowledged, that, if it could have been given to man to guide his country through the perils of such a crisis, Mr. Cobbett was the man for whom that trust would have been reserved; and that he, if he has lived long enough for his own glory, has died too soon for the safety of that country, a love for the happiness and honour of which was the passion of his elevated soul.

To his heaven-born gift of genius, to his experience, the gathered fruit of fifty years of observation and meditation, to the character and influence founded on the labours of his life, there can, in the order

of nature, be no successor ; but to those sons who must appreciate what it is to inherit the immediate honours of a name now linked to some of the brightest glories of their country's history, the mourning friends of their departed father would suggest that England will look to them with expectation ; that the hope of England is to find that in them their father's spirit yet survives ; that in them he has bequeathed to his country the legacy of his own virtues, of that patriotism superior to the views of self or faction, of lofty independence, of that disdain of mercenary calculations, of that justice which could not abandon the people, of that truth which scorned to flatter them, of that zeal for the public good which did not cease to burn till the life that fed it was extinguished.

That you, Madam, may live to hear the universal confession that this hope is realised ; that you may see your sons, not only merit, but receive with public acclamation, the honours which the resentment and the fears and the envy of faction laboured to withhold where they were eminently due ; that to you may be amply paid, that only reward, save an approving conscience, that Mr. Cobbett ever sought the public acknowledgment of those exertions which you encouraged, and of those sacrifices and sufferings which you too amply shared, is the earnest and affectionate wish of—  
Madam, your obedient and faithful Servants,

THE RADICAL REFORMERS OF MAN-  
CHESTER AND SALFORD.

## THE LATE MR. COBBETT.

TO

THE EDITOR OF THE BATH JOURNAL.

SIR,

I have yet never solicited a corner in your Journal and been refused : I therefore confidently hope, through the same valuable channel, to record my humble tribute of respect and gratitude to the memory of an incomparable writer, and a genuine patriot. So long as the English language shall endure, so long will the memory of William Cobbett dwell with reverence in the hearts of the wise and the good ; and in the hearts of the wicked it will likewise dwell, but conjoined with that bitterness which the wicked only know, and only feel towards the chastiser of their vices.

It is not my wish to expatiate upon the talents of Mr. Cobbett, what need ? The meed of unwilling praise has been conceded by his adversaries, and his talents have been blazoned forth in terms too strange to have proceeded from the heart. His inimitable style, so strong in its simplicity, so clear in its comprehensiveness, has been eulogised, and pronounced to be *racy* and *idiomatic* ; after some more equivocal commendations, we have been told his mind *could never take in the whole of a subject*, and it is questionable *whether he ever sought the truth*.

Leaving the talents of this great man to the discussion of others, it is my wish to dwell upon his virtues, and I shall begin with his *inherent love of truth*. During the long period of his literary life, the predominant characteristic of his writings is an immutable abhorrence of falsehood itself, and all its branches—dissimulation, hypocrisy, equivocation, cant, and flattery ; his language carries with it the irresistible conviction that the sentiments it clothes spring from the heart ; this was the charm which captivated at once the hearts and understandings of his readers, and was a principal cause of his just celebrity : truth, disclaiming adornment, proud in its own beauty and force, is stamped on every production of Cobbett's pen.



Disinterestedness is a quality equally conspicuous in the subject of my panegyric. Can any one in his senses doubt that if money had been the object of William Cobbett's wishes, he could have failed of obtaining it? Is it within the verge of probability that the most powerful political writer of his day could have failed of amassing wealth, aye, enormous wealth, in the course of forty years, if such had been his object? Have not many attained it for political services during his career, who would themselves shrink from disputing the palm of genius with him? The man who writes for wealth or rank pursues a different course from Cobbett; he leaves the poor and the laborious to fight their own battles, and enlists in the ranks of the rich and great. In the impious language of Cromwell's fanatics, he waits upon Providence, by espousing the cause of the successful.

Of all the charges brought against Cobbett, inconsistency has gained the strongest hold; and the inconsistency with which he is charged appears to be of a twofold kind: he adhered to no ministry, to no set of public men; and he had *once* changed his opinions; all admit they had been radical for the last thirty-four years. Fitted by nature to be a leader, Cobbett followed not in the track of any man; when he conceived those in power to be acting ill, he charged them with the wrong, but he did not pledge himself to support their successors in power; he upheld neither party in what he deemed wrong, he opposed neither in what he thought right. Such a man must make enemies, and his enemies will call him inconsistent. The patriotism which actuated Cobbett through life, prompted him in America to write a defence of his countrymen and of their government. Forty years ago, the Americans, irritated by real or imaginary wrongs, hated and reviled the parent country and its rulers; Cobbett, with the feelings natural to an Englishman and a soldier, resented this rancour against his country, and displayed such eminent talent in its defence, under the signature of Peter Porcupine, as to attract the notice of the existing ministry.

On his return to England he was introduced to Mr. Pitt: what a brilliant career then opened to him; his talents appreciated, his support sought by the most influential men of his native land, his future fortune certain: here was a trial of rectitude—let the man who withstood it, be appreciated as he ought. But we are told Mr. Pitt affronted him: petty causes govern petty men, but not such a mind as his. Forced by his own merits into the councils of the great, he heard their selfish policy, their narrow views, their insolent expectations; he saw the impending mischief; he felt all his own superiority, and the responsibility attached to it, and, to use his own words, "The distinction of rank, birth, and wealth, all became nothing in his eyes, and he resolved never again to bend before them."

When certain ambassadors were sent to Thebes, for the purpose of corrupting Epaminondas, that great man invited them to dinner; every thing in his house evinced the sober simplicity of its master; Go, said he, tell your sovereign my manner of living, he will know that one who can be content with so little despises money and all it can purchase. The rare temperance of Cobbett, combined with his unwearied spirit of industry, and genuine love of rural occupation, rendered him inaccessible to the temptations which assail public men, and preserved to his country his inestimable talents. Mr. Editor, I must not trespass upon your indulgence any longer, but in concluding, I feel how inadequate have been my efforts to do justice to the noble character of William Cobbett, or to my regret for the irreparable loss his country has sustained. "I could make in a day," said Francis I. to some arrogant lords speaking of the death of Da Vinci, "I could make in a day, many such nobles as you, but God only can make such a one as him I deplore."

I am, Sir,

Your obedient and humble Servant,

AN OLD CORRESPONDENT.

June 25, 1835.

## WILLIAM COBBETT.

TO  
THE EDITOR OF THE BRIGHTON PATRIOT.

SIR,

Should the following small tribute of respect to the memory of the late Mr. Cobbett be deemed worthy a space in your valuable paper, you will much oblige me by inserting it.

I am, Sir,  
your obedient servant,

H.

*Henfield, July 1, 1835.*

The departure of one who has long occupied a proud and prominent station in public opinion,—of one who has, by a series of publications of practical and universal utility, formed our minds and taught us to think for ourselves,—the departure of one who has become endeared to us, as it were, by the ties of reciprocity of sentiment,—may justly claim a tribute of regard from the many who have benefited by the illuminations of his genius. Cold must be the heart (however much it may differ in opinion from the departed), cold must be the heart that does not feel its pulsation quickened at the recollection of the labours of, and the difficulties that have, at times, encompassed the late lamented William Cobbett; and proud must be his admirers when they reflect with what tremendous rapidity he rose through every obstacle that threatened to check him, and stood alone—the great and undeniable master of the principles he espoused.

In all probability your readers are aware that Cobbett was born in a low station in society; that he left his paternal roof at an early age, and maintained himself in the office of an attorney in London; that he served as a common soldier in the army for the space of eight years; that, after his discharge, he engaged in the occupation of bookselling and publishing; and that, on his return to England from America, in 1800, he

supported, for four successive years, the ministry of Pitt.

Conceiving, however, the idea that the everlasting boastings of Pitt about our “glorious constitution” were not well founded, Cobbett, to use his own words, “took a calm and unprejudiced view of the professions and actions of”—(as he then thought)—“the greatest minister that England ever saw, and discovered that instead of diminishing the debt by his fallacious ‘sinking fund,’ Pitt had very considerably increased it.” No sooner had he made this discovery, in 1805, than he strenuously strove to impart a knowledge of the same facts to his countrymen; and from that time, up to the period of his decease, he published a variety of works, in the whole of which may be traced the display of unbounded talent, and a praiseworthy and undeviating advocacy of the rights of the industrious classes, more particularly of those of the agricultural population. He has justly been called “the monarch of the press.” No man has done more than Cobbett—more, did I say? no man has done a thousandth part so much, as regards teaching the public the nature of our great political machine, and detecting and exposing the infamous frauds and extortions, the general system of plunder, to which the people have been the innocent victims; no man has approached—even in the comparison of an atom to the universe—the mind of the one who has, with surpassing energy, made the government of the country, that is “the envy of surrounding nations,” totter and quail before his Herculean power. He has laid bare the wound which has been preying on the vitals of the community, and in so doing, he has had to force through difficulties—the slightest of which was more than sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. He had much to contend with—everything was against him—birth, education, prejudices; and yet, with a masculine force of intellectual energy, never equalled, he surmounted every obstacle, and, with the grasp of the giant, drew aside the curtain of state and exposed the wickedness of the purse-proud, oppressive aristocracy. The impedi-



ments thrown in his way, the endeavours to crush him, by the party whose infamous practices he was ever exposing, are almost incredible. With a mind whose scope was unbounded he trampled on the greatest of their efforts to annihilate him, as though they were pigmies; and lived, thank God! to see the state that he had so long and so frequently predicted, realised. He lived to see the Reform Bill pass (imperfect as it is),—the measure, for writing in favour of which he was stigmatised as a “vagabond,” a “jacobin,” and a “bankrupt in character and fortune;” every disgraceful epithet that the tongue can utter or the mind imagine was gratuitously applied to him: our form of Government and laws were declared to be “*perfection itself*,” and many are those, in consequence, who have gone down to their graves with the mistaken impression that Cobbett was deluded by the chaotic agitations of a morbid temperament. He lived to see his predictions relative to the currency question realised. He lived to become a member of the House of Commons. And, *what adds most of all to his glory, he lived to prove to the world, BY HIS CONDUCT IN PARLIAMENT, that he was an honest and sincere PATRIOT*; a firm and unflinching friend of the labouring classes, and a consistent and wise politician.

England has lost one of her choicest sons—one of her brightest ornaments. Many are the hearts that will remember, with pleasure unspeakable, the delight with which they have perused the outpourings of his splendid and manly mind; and many are those who will never cease to regret the death of one of the noblest, the greatest, and the best of all English productions.

“He was a man, take him for all in all,  
We ne’er shall look upon his like again.”

Base as his actions were alleged to be, slandered and calumniated as his character has been, he rose superior to them all. The diabolical contrivances of his opponents—their threats and proud vaunts that they would *crush* him—he treated as the whisperings of the wind, or as the ravings of madmen; he dashed

through them with the giganticness of his intellect as though they were cobwebs before the bound of the lion; he had the power, the enmity of a government *that commanded the resources of England*, continually against him—continually endeavouring to thwart his views and to counteract the spreading of his principles. No means were left untried to silence the pen that commanded the minds of millions: threats, bribes, professions of friendship, were resorted to, without effect—all were inefficacious. All that the malignity of Satan, all that the worst of passions could invent, was raised against the progress of William Cobbett—against the dissemination of his opinions; and no sooner were the ignoble aristocracy congratulating themselves on the success of their strenuous although rabid efforts, than, to their dismay, they beheld their fancied barrier vanish like the mists of morning before the light of his genius: and their vituperations, their barefaced falsehoods—always the resort of those conscious of a bad cause,—their “mountains to overwhelm him,” were trodden under foot and dissipated, apparently with as much ease as a fly is crushed beneath the wheels of a chariot. His whole life has been one of shoals and quicksands, and innumerable have been the contrivances to entrap him. The malice of his enemies has continually placed him between Scylla and Charybdis. He escaped all—rose superior to all; and perhaps few enjoyed a greater amount of happiness. His spirit is developed to the world in his voluminous and valuable works; **BUT PROUD MAY ENGLAND BE TO CLAIM WILLIAM COBBETT AS HER SON!**

#### LETTER I.

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM PITT,  
ON THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

#### INTRODUCTION.

SIR,

Nothing is either more common or more true, than the observation, that;

in order to provide an adequate remedy for evils, whether moral or political, it is necessary, first to inquire into, and, if possible, ascertain, the causes whence they have proceeded; and, I trust, that when it is considered what must, in the present instance, necessarily be the objects of inquiry, it will be thought in no wise improper that I address myself to you; not only because you are the first minister of the King, and, of course, are responsible for measures now to be adopted, but also, because you have, from your long and uncontrouled possession of power, contracted a deep responsibility with respect to the past.

In estimating arguments, relating to any subject, and particularly to measures and events, in which the writer has taken no part, personal considerations with regard to him ought never to intrude; but, Sir, this intrusion, so inimical to the cause of truth and of justice, experience has convinced us that nothing can prevent in the case of political discussions; where, though the reasoning have no possible connexion with the character, conduct, motives, or views of the reasoner, though the door be barred against them by every principle according to which men, in other cases, form their judgment, intrude they will; and powerful indeed must be the talents of him who can with safety bid them defiance! Greatly and justly diffident in this latter respect, feeling the full weight of the task I have ventured to encounter, and being, therefore, anxious to avoid the assaults of any extraneous adversary, I shall, I hope, be excused, especially when some recent transactions are taken into view, if previous to my entering on the important subject before me, I endeavour to guard against the foul hostility of personal considerations, whatever degree of conviction my reasoning may have the good fortune to produce.

It is now, Sir, ten years since I first took up the pen with an intention to write for the press, on political subjects; and the occasion of my so doing is too curious in itself, as well as of too much importance as to the sequel, not to be

described somewhat in detail. At the memorable epoch of Doctor Priestley's emigration to America, I followed, in the city of Philadelphia, the profession of teacher of the English language to Frenchmen. Newspapers were a luxury for which I had little relish, and which, if I had been ever so fond of, I had not time to enjoy. The manifestoes, therefore, of the Doctor, upon his landing in that country, and the malicious attacks upon the monarchy and the monarch of England which certain societies in America thereupon issued through the press, would, had it not been for a circumstance purely accidental, have escaped, probably for ever, not only my animadversion, but my knowledge of their existence. One of my scholars, who was a person that we in England should call a coffee-house politician, chose, for once, to read his newspaper by way of lesson; and, it happened to be the very paper which contained the addresses presented to Dr. Priestley at New York, together with his replies. My scholar, who was a sort of republican, or, at best, but half a monarchist, appeared delighted with the invectives against England, to which he was very much disposed to add. Those Englishmen who have been abroad, particularly if they have had time to make a comparison between the country they are in and that which they have left, well know how difficult it is, upon occasions such as I have been describing, to refrain from expressing their indignation and resentment; and there is not, I trust, much reason to suppose, that I should, in this respect, experience less difficulty than another. The dispute was as warm as might reasonably be expected between a Frenchman, uncommonly violent even for a Frenchman, and an Englishman not remarkable for *sang froid*; and, the result was, a declared resolution, on my part, to write and publish a pamphlet in defence of my country, which pamphlet he pledged himself to answer: his pledge was forfeited: it is known that mine was not. —Thus, Sir, it was, that I became a writer on politics. “Happy for you,” you will say, “if you had continued at



"your verbs and your nouns!" Perhaps it would; but the fact absorbs the reflection: whether it was for my good, or otherwise, I entered on the career of political writing; and, without advert-  
 ing to the circumstances under which others have entered on it, I think it will not be believed that the pen was ever taken up from a motive more pure and laudable. I could have no hope of gain from the proposed publication itself, but, on the contrary, was pretty certain to incur a loss; no hope of remuneration, for not only had I never seen any agent of the British government in America, but was not acquainted with any one British subject in the country. I was actuated, perhaps, by no very exalted notions of either loyalty or patriotism; the act was not much an act of refined reasoning, or of reflection; it arose merely from feeling, but it was that sort of feeling, that jealousy for the honour of my native country, which I am sure you will allow to have been highly meritorious, especially when you reflect on the circumstances of the times and the place in which I ventured before the public.—Great praise, and still more great success, are sure to operate, with young and zealous men, as an encouragement to farther exertions. Both were, in this case, far beyond my hopes, and still farther beyond the intrinsic merits of my performance. The praise was, in fact, given to the boldness of the man, who, after the American press had, for twenty years, been closed against every publication relative to England, in which England and her King were not censured and vilified, dared not only to defend but to eulogise and exalt them; and, the success was to be ascribed to that affection for England, that just hatred of France, which, in spite of all the misrepresentations that had been so long circulated, were still alive in the bosoms of all the better part of the people, who, openly to express their sentiments, only wanted the occasion and the example which were now afforded them.—From this time (the summer of 1794) to the year 1800 my labours were without intermission.

During that space there were published from my pen about twenty different pamphlets, the whole number of which amounted to more than *half a million* of copies. During the three last years, a daily paper, surpassing in extent of numbers any one ever known in America, was the vehicle of my efforts; and, in the year 1800, I might safely have asserted, that there was not, in the whole country, one single family, in which some part or other of my writings had not been read, and in which, generally speaking, they had not produced some degree of effect favourable to the interests of my country. But, there were some services, of which I must claim the right of making particular mention, and the first of which relates to the order, given by Mr. Dundas, for bringing in American vessels for "*ad-judication.*" This measure, which it seemed impossible could have been conceived in a cabinet of statesmen; this order, worthy only of the mind of a low, and a very low, lawyer; this order, from which no good could possibly arise to any body but the greedy speculators who had fitted out privateers for the express purpose of profiting from its equivocal meaning; this order, for the effects of which the people of England have already paid 600,000*l.* smart-money, and have, probably, nearly as much more to pay; this at once foolish and outrageous measure, coming in aid of the animosity engendered during the revolutionary war, and nourished by the pecuniary stipulations of the treaty of peace, was within a hair's breadth of deciding the American government to yield to the loudly-declared voice of the people in uniting their arms to those of the French Convention, and that too at the critical moment when Holland was first taken possession of by the republican arms. A treaty was negotiated with Mr. Jay; it was approved of finally, and war with America was happily avoided. But, far other exertions than those of the two cabinets were necessary to secure the conciliatory object of that treaty. The writings, the meetings, the debates, upon the subject, lasted nearly a twelve-

month, during which all the resources of art and ingenuity, of talent and of perseverance, were brought into action. The state, the whole society, were shaken to their very centre. The government was greatly at a loss how to act; by the papers which have been since published, it clearly appears, that the President Washington was, for some time, upon the balance whether he should ratify the treaty or not; and, the question for carrying it into effect was, in the Lower House, at last decided in the affirmative by the casting vote of the Speaker. If that question had been lost, nothing could have prevented America from joining France in the war; the French faction would have rapidly gained the ascendancy, and the government must have yielded to its dictates to save itself from destruction. In the whole of this controversy, I took an active part; and, at the same time, lost no opportunity of giving the people a just notion of what they had to expect from the fraternity of France. I know how to make allowance for the overflowings of gratitude and of friendship, and for the expressions of applause attendant on success. I pretend not, therefore, to be entitled to all the merit which was awarded me (in America, I mean) as to the result of the contest; but, I certainly was in the front rank of those by whom the victory was achieved. The importance of that victory to England, it would, perhaps, be difficult to render intelligible to the mind of Lord Melville, without the aid of a comparison; and, therefore, it may be necessary to observe, that it was infinitely more important than all his victories in the West Indies put together, which latter victories cost this country thirty thousand men and fifty millions of money.— You will recollect, perhaps, Sir, that there were, during the last war, certain dispatches of the French minister, Fauchet, intercepted at sea by our cruisers, and sent back to America. The person, who jumped overboard and saved them from being sunk, has, I believe, been liberally rewarded by government. He deserved it. But those dispatches, which, by the exposition that

I gave of them, so materially contributed to turn the tide of popular opinion against France, would, had it not been for me, have produced very little effect. My exertions on this occasion was such as hardly to be credited, if they were fully described, and the effect they produced cannot possibly be conceived by any one who was not a witness of them. — I shall mention one more instance of the effect of my exertions; one that I can never reflect on but with something more than pride. Several vessels, in consequence of General Maitland's famous evacuation of Port-au-Prince, arrived in the Delaware with French Royalists on board, under the flag of his Majesty. From sinister motives of some persons a fearful representation of their numbers, and the number of their armed negroes, had been made to the Governor, and by him to the President. Whereupon, without a moment's hesitation, the Upper House of Congress proceeded to pass a law to prevent the landing of these unfortunate people; and, if the law had passed and been executed, it was not easy to see how they could have avoided perishing. In this extremity the Royalists had, by means of their friends, applied to the British Minister, who, with that zeal which marked the whole of his conduct, applied to the government on behalf of these unfortunate persons, but could obtain nothing whereon to build even a hope of success. In the mean time, indignant at the injustice, the cruelty, and the baseness of thus repelling these people by an *ex post facto* law, and that, too, out of pure fear as to what barely might happen, and without any previous examination or inquiry into the truth of the facts alleged, I had taken up the cause of the Frenchmen, and had reprobated, in terms, perhaps, not the most mild, the intended measure of the government and the Congress. And here, Sir, give me leave to exhibit to you a specimen of mercantile baseness, such as I imagine you have never yet seen. The merchants and shopkeepers, several of whom, when I began to write, I found in French cockades, and who were ready to stone



me to death for writing against Frenchmen, now came to my house in crowds to scratch their name from my list, *because I wrote in favour of Frenchmen!* They were frightened; and you know, Sir, very well, that if they are once put into a good fright, all ideas of liberty and law instantly vanish from their minds. Solomon describes the fool's wrath as being extremely dangerous; but woe unto him who has to sustain the wrath of a coward! Even this, however, did not deter me from my purpose. The Frenchmen, finding that they had no other hope, sent their friends to me to consult as to the measures to be taken. On the Saturday the bill had been read three times in the Senate, and had been ordered to the Lower House. On the Sunday I procured an accurate statement of the number and description of the persons on board, together with a sort of certificate from the commander of each ship. These I conveyed to the President on the Sunday night, and sent copies of them to a member of the Lower House of Congress the next morning. Proceedings were immediately stopped; an official examination was ordered by the President; it was found that there was no danger; the Frenchmen were landed; and my merchants and shopkeepers, who would have crucified me only two days before, now came sneaking to thank me for having saved their city and their country from disgrace.—I will weary you with no more particular instances. This is merely a specimen of the exertions I was continually making for six years, during the whole of which time, I can truly say, that I lived not for myself or my family, but exclusively for my country and my king. I enjoyed nothing that the world calls pleasure, fortune was entirely neglected, and personal safety but very little attended to. When I began to write, the prejudice, the hatred, against England were so great, that scarcely any Englishman would publicly own his country. If asked of what country he was, his answer was evasive; he came from the "old country," or he called himself an Irishman or a Scotchman; for *English* was the hated epithet. Of the violence,

the rage of the times, no man not upon the spot can form an adequate idea; but some conception of the dangers that I must have been exposed to may be conveyed by the fact of the people having, in their fury against yourself, hanged, and afterwards beheaded, the marble statue of your father! It was in the midst of a scene like this, Sir, at the time that the Philadelphians were tearing down the image of King George II. from the walls of the church which he had founded for their fathers; it was at that time that I exhibited the pictures of all the Royal Family of England in a window exactly opposite that very wall, and there I determined to exhibit them, and did exhibit them, till their name was once more honoured in the city. Mr. Long would have called this "indiscreet and chivalrous;" but, Sir, there are times and seasons when to venture every thing but character is the very height of discretion; and, indeed, discretion, as to such circumstances, consists in knowing when to venture, and when not to venture. The sequel proved that I was discreet. I succeeded in my object far beyond my utmost expectations. I met every adversary that appeared against my country; defended it against every accusation; exposed its secret, and chastised its open enemies; emboldened its friends to speak, and "stilled the madness of the crowd." In that city, where, when I started on my career, an Englishman was ashamed to own his country; where my life had been a hundred times threatened unless I desisted to write against France, where the name of his Majesty was never mentioned unaccompanied with some epithet too foul and calumnious to repeat; in that city I lived to see a public celebration of Lord Nelson's victory over the French, and to be serenaded with the tune of "God save the King!" What a change! Certainly not to be entirely ascribed to me. But, it was a change which I had a considerable share in producing; I staid the mischief; I prevented that which would have prevented us from profiting from the events which time was hastening along. My American friends

give me all the credit of this change : I claim no such thing ; but I know, that I deserve, and that I shall have, the lasting gratitude of both countries. The services, of which I have been speaking, have not ceased their operation : they are still active : the people of America cannot, even if they would, forget what they have learned against France ; nor, which is, indeed, of more importance, will they again be silenced with regard to the merits of Great Britain. The time of my writing will be looked back to as a memorable epoch, not only in American politics, but in the political mind of America. I untied the tongue of British attachment ; by an extraordinary exertion I broke the shackles in which the public mind had been held from the commencement of the revolutionary war, and once more opened a way for the workings of nature and of truth.

Now, Sir, though, upon my return to England, I expected no reward for these services ; though I never either received or asked for or wished for any, yet I might, without being too unreasonable, have hoped, that, if my services should happen to be publicly, commended, I should escape an assault from a press under the controul of that government, in defence of which I had so zealously and so disinterestedly laboured : I might have hoped, that, though an orator were, by way of rhetorical figure, to award me a statue of gold for my services across the Atlantic ; even in that case I might have hoped that a tool, yea a very slave of the Treasury would not dare to style me an *American* and a *traitor*. These are wrongs not easy to justify or to palliate ; especially when they come without provocation ; and certain I am that I never gave any, except that of refusing to become brother-slave ; a refusal which arose not only from my dislike to the situation itself, but from a conviction, which has been since fully confirmed by observation, that the pen of a slave seldom produces effect.—From my arrival in England to the preliminaries of peace, or, at least, during a part of that time, I endeavoured to support a daily paper,

in which endeavour, from various causes, I failed ; but, however awkward I might appear in a scene to me entirely new, I think it will not be pretended, that, in my diurnal print, there was any departure from those principles of loyalty and patriotism, which I had inculcated and practised in America.

At the preliminaries of peace, a new question in politics arose. I remained upon the old ground ; you departed from it. The Treasury writers have accused me of “ deserting Mr. Pitt, whom I had “ so highly extolled, and of going over to “ Mr. Fox, whom I had so severely censured.” And thus I am, by way of allusion, charged with a crime almost as heinous as any that man can commit. But, to desert a man must be enlisted, and, if I might be said to be enlisted, it was in the cause of which I regarded you as the champion ; and not in your personal service. It is very true, that, while in America, and immediately after my return to England, I did highly extol you ; but, Sir, it must be evident to every one, that this my conduct arose from my regarding you as the great asserter of the cause of my country and of monarchy. You were always defended and applauded by me as the person, who was at the head, who was the rallying point of all those who were opposed to the principles and the natural consequences of the French revolution. In the course of my proposed inquiry I shall, I think, show, that want of true information (a deficiency that will need no accounting for, when my then situation, not only as to place, but as to various other circumstances, is considered) misled me ; that you were not the champion of the cause of monarchy, and that it was chiefly owing to your wrong system of policy that that cause was finally ruined. But, to justify my *desertion*, as it is called by the Treasury writers, there needs no inquiry into your measures during the last war. Your conduct relative to the peace, contrasted with your declared principles and avowed object as to the war, are all I require to prove, that, in ceasing to be your eulogist and in becoming your assailant, my conduct has exhibited a perfect consistency.



In supporting you, Sir, what was the object I had in view? Some of your liberal partisans will probably say, a good round sum of money. But, be that as it may, what was the object which I professed to have in view? for here, if any where, must be found the marks of desertion. What, then, was this object? It was, Sir, that which you professed to me, as well as to every man in England and in Europe, upon several occasions during the war, and particularly, in your speech made in the House of Commons, on the 7th of June, 1799. In that speech you declared, that we were in circumstances which forbade us to stop short of "an adequate, full, and "rational security;" that war might be carried on for any length of time, "without the creation of new debt;" and that it would not be difficult "to "provide taxes for eight years." . . . . "We shall not," said you, "be satisfied "with false security. War, with all its "evils, is better than a peace, in which "there is nothing to be seen but injustice, dwelling with savage delight on "the humbled prostrate condition of "some timid suppliant people." . . . . "The time to come to a discussion of a "peace, can only be the time when you "can look with confidence to an honourable issue; to such a peace as shall at "once restore to Europe her settled and "balanced constitution of general polity, "and to every negotiating power in "particular, that weight in the scale of "general empire, which has ever been "found the best guarantee and pledge "of local independence and general security. Such are my sentiments. I "am not afraid to avow them. I commit "them to the thinking amongst mankind; and, if they have not been "poisoned by the stream of French "sophistry, and prejudiced by her falsehoods, I am sure they will approve of "the determination I have avowed, and "for those grave and mature reasons on "which I found it."—I, Sir, had not been poisoned by the stream of French sophistry; I did approve of the determination that you avowed; I not only approved of it, I applauded it, I exulted at it, as my American friends will re-

member to their present mortification. But, Sir, because I highly extolled you for this noble determination, and for the inexhaustible pecuniary means that you had provided for carrying it into effect, was I to continue to extol you when you broke a determination so solemnly avowed, and that, too, under the pretext of husbanding those pecuniary means? Because I highly extolled the Mr. Pitt of June 1799, was I bound to extol the Mr. Pitt of November 1801, when he called upon the country for its lasting gratitude towards those men who had negotiated the preliminaries of peace? It is a well known and undisputed fact, that you yourself, Sir, directed those negotiations; that it was at your suggestion they were undertaken; that in every stage you were consulted; and that no stipulation was made without your consent and approbation. But, if there were any doubt upon this point, there can be none as to your open conduct with regard to the measure, in which you did not merely *acquiesce*, which you did not merely approve of and support but which you declared to be such as to "afford matter of *exultation* to the country, and to entitle the ministers to its "warmest approbation and *most grateful thanks*." And, Sir, did consistency call upon me to extol you after such an eulogium upon a compact in which all your principles had been abandoned, and all your promises falsified? Will any one say, that the peace of Amiens "restored to Europe her settled and "balanced constitution of general polity?" Will any one pretend that the peace of Amiens gave us "indemnity "for the past and security for the "future?" To ask the question seems like a sort of mockery. Will it be said, that you were unable to carry on the war? Then Mr. Fox was right; for it was a peace of necessity. But, if this was the case, then comes your other difficulty; for, I was deceived by your statements of 1799, to say nothing about the more elaborate statements of your Secretary Mr. Rose, whose official pamphlet came forth to aid the deception. I believed you, when you so confidently and so solemnly declared,

that "the war might be carried on for any length of time without the creation of new debt," and that "it would not be difficult to provide taxes for eight years;" and, though I saw you, in two years afterwards, make a peace, in which not only all your avowed objects of the war were abandoned, and by which the ancient honours of the country were surrendered; though I saw the balance of Europe remain completely upset; though the enemy seized state upon state even during the negotiations; and though I clearly saw and explicitly foretold that England itself would be exposed to that constant and imminent danger, of which every man is now feelingly sensible; in spite of all this, was I still to adhere to you, still to extol you, on pain of being stigmatised as a political deserter! Will any one, even in the purlieus of Downing-street and Whitehall, attempt to maintain a position so repugnant to reason? Because you, either from choice or from necessity; impelled either by your interests, your ambition, or the consequences of your errors, changed your course in politics, throwing aside all the principles which had induced me to follow you, was I bound to change too? Is the mere *name* of Pitt, (for there was little else left) sufficient to compensate for the absence of every thing which we desire to find in a minister, and is it entitled to political allegiance from all those who have once expressed their attachment to the principles with which it has been, but no longer is, connected? Is there any one who will pretend, that you are not only so great as to have a right to abandon your principles, without exposing yourself to censure, but to render it a duty in others to abandon theirs for the sake of yielding you support? Is there any one who will venture to urge a pretension so offensive, so insulting to the feelings of the world? And, if not; if it be not insisted, that every man who once supports a principle of yours, becomes by that act solely your bondsman for life, then, I think, if *desertion* be a proper word to employ, it will be allowed that I did not desert you, but that you deserted me.

But, though thus deserted, I might, say your friends, have avoided going over to your political opponent. Here, too, Sir, I shall, I hope, find very little difficulty in showing, that, though in this case, the path pointed out by reason and by honour, by loyalty and by patriotism, was strewn with thorns, I have, in no single instance, deviated from it.

I am, Sir, your, &c., &c.,

W. COBBETT.

Botley, Hants, Sept. 24, 1804.

## LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7.

### BANKRUPTS.

Eagleton, Benjamin, Town Mall, Kent, tailor.  
Greenwood, John, Leeds, music-seller.  
Beard, Thomas, Dursley's Cross Inn, Longhope, Gloucestershire, victualler.  
Beck, Peter, Bolton-le-Moors, Staffordshire, grocer.  
Burdekin, Hancock, Sheffield, table-knife-manufacturer.  
Croston, Thomas, jun. Liverpool, painter.  
Frood, Thomas, Plymouth, ironmonger.  
Hughes, William, Portsmouth, fruit-merchant.  
Wyatt, John, Warminster, cabinet-maker.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11.

### BANKRUPTS.

Long, William Edward, Saint John's Wharf, Battersea, coal-merchant.  
Bessell, Edward Corbet, Edward-street, Portman-square, lodging-house-keeper.  
Otley, Edward, jun. Savage-gardens, wine and spirit-merchant.  
Linnett, John, Austrey, Warwickshire, school-master and bookseller.  
Hunt, Robert, Kingston-upon-Hull, spirit-merchant.  
Hooper, George, Downton, Wiltshire, tanner.  
Brooke, James, Lincoln, chemist and druggist.  
Wallace, William, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, chemist and druggist.  
Schofield, John, Moorhouse, Rochdale, Lancashire, woollen manufacturer.  
Blenkin, George, and Shackleton, William, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchants and seedsmen.

## LONDON MARKETS.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7.

### CORN EXCHANGE.

The wheat trade is exceedingly dull; in fact there is no business doing, the prices are consequently nominally as on Monday; but to effect



sales a reduction must be submitted to. In barley there is an entire absence of trade; and oats are very heavy at the quotations of Wednesday last, consumers holding off for the result of the harvest. Beans, peas, and other articles of grain may be noticed as nearly nominal from a similar cause.

The arrivals are 3960 sacks of flour, 8600 qrs. of wheat, 470 of barley, 6140 of oats, 3870 of Irish oats, and 1710 of foreign oats.

### SMITHFIELD.

The finest beasts, this morning, are but indifferent sale at 4s to 4s 2d per stone; and the best Lincolns and Durhams sell at 3s 8d to 4s; in coarse and second rate oxen there is much dulness at 2s 6d to 3s 6d. Mutton, for the primest Downs, is at 4s to 4s 4d; and the best Kentish and Leicester wethers sell at 3s 8d to 4s 2d; old, coarse, and inferior meat is 2s 8d to 3s 4d. In pork, dairy fed porkers are 4s to 4s 2d; and large hogs 2s 2d to 3s. The primest calves fetch 4s 4d to 4s 8d, and large and coarse calves 3s to 3s 10d.

Beasts, 489—Sheep, 12,134—Calves, 227—  
Pigs, 362.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef -	2	4	to 4	2	Veal -	3	0	to 4	8
Mutton	2	6	to 4	4	Pork -	2	2	to 3	6
Lamb -	4	0	to 5	4	Irish -	0	0	to 0	0

### Prices of Hay and Straw.

Hay	-	3l	15s	0d to 4l	10s	0d
Clover	-	3l	15s	0d to 5l	10s	0d
Straw	-	2l	0s	0d to 2l	2s	0d

MONDAY, AUGUST 10.

### CORN EXCHANGE.

The supply of wheat fresh up this morning is moderate, but the parcels left unsold from last week's supply are considerable, and to effect sales the factors willingly submit to a decline of 2s per qr. from the quotations of Monday last. Several samples of the new wheat crop have been exhibited at market to-day.

In barley there is nothing doing, and the price continues entirely nominal.

There is great heaviness in the oat trade, and the grain is full 1s to 2s per qr. cheaper than at our last quotation, with a very dull appearance at the reduction.

Beans and peas are both better sale than on Monday last, with a tendency to an improvement in price.

In other articles of grain there is nothing doing.

	s.	s.
Wheat, Kent and Essex	-	30 a 42
Suffolk (White)	-	27 a 41
Norfolk	-	28 a 38
Barley	-	25 a 30
Malting	-	32 a 40
Malt	-	00 a 00
Old, ditto	-	00 a 00
Peas, White	-	28 a 31
Boilers	-	32 a 36
Grey	-	30 a 32
Maple	-	00 a 00

	s.	s.
Peas, Maple, Wh.	-	00 a 00
do. ord.	-	00 a 00
Seed, last per	-	£00 a 00
Rye	-	30 a 32
Beans, Small	-	35 a 40
Old	-	00 a 00
Old Tick	-	34 a 38
Oats, Feed	-	20 a 22
Old	-	00 a 00
Poland	-	22 a 23
New ditto	-	00 a 00
Old	-	00 a 00
Potato	-	24 a 25
Scotch	-	00 a 00
Flour, per sack	-	29 a 33
Do. Fine	-	38 a 40

### SMITHFIELD.

Beef for the finest Scots is at 4s to 4s 2d per stone this morning, and for prime Lincolns and Durhams at 3s 8d to 4s; second rate meat sells at 3s 2d to 3s 6d; and coarse and old oxen are 2s 10d to 3s 2d. The primest Downs at market are worth 4s to 4s 4d, and the best Kentish and Leicester wethers 3s 10d to 4s 2d; second rate and inferior meat is 3s to 3s 8d; and old and coarse sheep and ewes, 2s 6d to 3s. Prime young calves are worth 4s 6d to 4s 8d, and larger and coarser, 3s 2d to 4s. Dairy fed porkers sell at 3s 6d to 4s 2d, and large hogs are 2s 2d to 3s.

Price per stone, sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef -	2	8 to 4	2		Veal -	3	3 to 4	8	
Mutton	3	4 to 4	4		Pork -	3	6 to 4	2	
Lamb -	4	4 to 5	4						

Beasts, 2574—Sheep, 26,404—Calves, 222—  
Pigs, 357.

### HAY AND STRAW MARKET.

Hay	-	4l	5s	0d to 4l	15s	0d
Clover	-	4l	15s	0d to 5l	5s	0d
Straw	-	1l	18s	0d to 2l	2s	0d

### NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.

MONDAY, AUG. 10.

By the Carcase, per stone of 8 lbs.

### NEWGATE.

Inferior Beef	-	2s	0d a 2s	2d
Middling ditto	-	2s	4d a 2s	6d
Prime large ditto	-	2s	8d a 3s	2d
Ditto to small ditto	-	3s	4d a 3s	6d
Large Pork	-	2s	6d a 2s	10d

### LEADENHALL.

Prime Mutton	-	3s	2d a 3s	6d
Middling ditto	-	2s	6d a 3s	0d
Inferior ditto	-	2s	2d a 2s	4d
Veal	-	3s	0d a 4s	4d
Small Pork	-	3s	10d a 4s	4d
Lamb	-	3s	8d a 4s	10d

## TO BOOKSELLERS.

*All the Books undermentioned are sold at No. 166, Fleet-street, London; and are to be had of all the Booksellers in the Kingdom.*

THE  
COBBETT-LIBRARY.

WHEN I am asked what books a young man or young woman ought to read, I always answer, "Let him or her read *all the books that I have written*. This does, it will doubtless be said, *smell of the shop*. No matter. It is what I recommended; and experience has taught me that it is my *duty* to give the recommendation. I am speaking here of books other than THE REGISTER; and even these, that I call my LIBRARY, consist of *thirty-nine* distinct books; two of them being TRANSLATIONS; seven of them being written BY MY SONS; one (TULL'S HUSBANDRY) revised and edited, and one published by me, and written by the Rev. Mr. O'CALLAGHAN, a most virtuous Catholic Priest; and one written by Mr. EATON, and published by me. I divide these books into classes, as follows; 1. Books for TEACHING LANGUAGE; 2. On DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT AND DUTIES; 3. On RURAL AFFAIRS; 4. On THE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS; 5. HISTORY; 6. TRAVELS; 7. LAWS; 8. MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS. Here is a great variety of subjects; and all of them very *dry*; nevertheless the manner of treating them is, in general, such as to induce the reader to *go through the book*, when he has once begun it.

I will now speak of each book separately under the several heads above-mentioned. N.B. All the books are *bound in boards*, which will be borne in mind when the price is looked at.

WM. COBBETT.

1. BOOKS FOR TEACHING KNOWLEDGE.

ENGLISH SPELLING-BOOK. I have been frequently asked by mothers of families, by some fathers, and by some schoolmasters even, to write a book that they could *begin* teaching by; one that should begin at the beginning of book learning, and smooth the way along to my own English Grammar, which is the entrance-gate. I

often promised to comply with these requests, and, from time to time, in the intervals of political heats, I have thought of the thing, till, at last, I found time enough to sit down and put it upon paper. The objection to the common spelling-books is, that the writers aim at teaching several important sciences in a little book in which the whole aim should be the teaching of *spelling* and *reading*. We are presented with a little ARITHMETIC, a little ASTRONOMY, a little GEOGRAPHY, and a good deal of RELIGION! No wonder the poor little things imbibe a hatred of books in the first that they look into! Disapproving heartily of these books, I have carefully abstained from every thing beyond the object in view; namely, the teaching of a child to spell and read; and this work I have made as pleasant as I could, by introducing such stories as children most delight in, accompanied by those little wood-cut illustrations which amuse them. At the end of the book there is a "*Stepping-stone to the English Grammar*." It is but a step; it is designed to teach a child the different *parts of speech*, and the use of *points*, with one or two small matters of the kind. The book is in the duodecimo form, contains 176 pages of print, and the price is 2s.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR. (Price 3s.) This work is in a series of letters addressed to my son James when he was fourteen years old. I made him *copy the whole of it* before it went to press; and that made him a *grammarian at once*; and how able a one it made him will be seen by his *own Grammar of the ITALIAN LANGUAGE*, his *RIDE IN FRANCE*, and his *TOUR IN ITALY*. There are at the end of this Grammar "Six Lessons intended to prevent *Statesmen* from using false grammar;" and I really wish that *our statesmen* would attend to the instructions of the whole book. Thousands upon thousands of young men have been made correct writers by it; and it is next to impossible that they should have read with attention without its producing such effect. It is a book of *principles*, clearly laid down; and when once these are got into the mind they never quit it. More than 100,000 of this work have been sold.

COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR (Price 5s); or, *Plain Instructions for the Learning of French*.—This book has had, and has, a very great effect in the producing of its object. More young men have, I dare say, learned French from it, than from all the other books that have been published in English for the last fifty years. It is, like the former, a book of *principles*, clearly laid down. I had this great advantage, too, that I had learned French *without a master*. I had grubbed it out bit by bit, and knew well how to *remove all the difficulties*: I remembered what it was that had *puzzled* and *retarded* me; and I have taken care, in this my Grammar, to prevent the reader from experiencing that which, in this respect, I experienced myself. This Grammar, as well as the former, is kept out of *schools*, owing to the *fear* that the masters and mistresses have of being looked upon as COBBETTITES. So much



the worse for the children of the stupid brutes who are the cause of this fear, which sensible people laugh at, and avail themselves of the advantages tendered to them in the books. *Teaching French in English Schools* is, generally, a mere delusion; and as to teaching the pronunciation by rules it is the grossest of all human absurdities. My knowledge of French was so complete thirty seven years ago, that the very first thing in the shape of a book that I wrote for the press, was a *Grammar to teach Frenchmen English*; and of course it was written in French. I must know all about these two languages; and must be able to give advice to young people on the subject: their time is precious; and I advise them not to waste it upon what are called lessons from masters and mistresses. To learn the pronunciation, there is no way but that of hearing those, and speaking with those, who speak the language well. My Grammar will do the rest.

Just published, Second Edition, 6s. boards,

**A GRAMMAR OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE**; or, a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. By JAMES PAUL COBBETT. This work contains explanations and examples to teach the language practically; and the principles of construction are illustrated by passages from the best Italian authors.

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**COBBETT'S FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY**. This book is now published. Its price is 12s. in boards; and it is a thick octavo volume.

**GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES**. This book was suggested to me by my own frequent want of the information which it contains; a suggestion which, if every compiler did but wait to feel before he put shears to work, would spare the world many a voluminous and useless book. I am constantly receiving letters out of the country, the writers living in obscure places, but who seldom think of giving more than the name of the place that they write from; and thus have I often been puzzled to death to find out even the county in which it is, before I could return an answer. I one day determined, therefore, for my own convenience, to have a list made out of every parish in the kingdom; but, this being done, I found that I had still townships and hamlets to add in order to make my list complete; and when I had got the work only half done, I found it a book; and that, with the addition of bearing and population, and distance from the next market-

town, or, if a market-town, from London, it would be a really useful *Geographical Dictionary*. It is a work which the learned would call *sui generis*; it prompted itself into life, and it has grown in my hands, but I will here insert the whole of the title-page, for that contains a full description of the book. In a thick 8vo. volume, price 12s.

"A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES; containing the names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions. Also the names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are MAPS; first, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relative to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situations of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns. FOUR TABLES are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties; and then Three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832."

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these; and it must be a real devil in human shape, who does not applaud the man who could sit down to write this book, a copy of which every parson ought, upon pain of loss of ears, to present to every girl that he marries, rich or poor.

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sary to all men of property who emigrate to the United States.

**COBBETT'S ENGLISH GARDENER** (Price 6s.): OR, A TREATISE on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-out of Kitchen-gardens; on the Making and Managing the Hot-beds and Green Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a KALENDAR, giving Instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year. A complete book of the kind. A plan of a kitchen garden, and little plates to explain the works of pruning, grafting, and budding. But it is here, as in all my books, the principles that are valuable; it is a knowledge of these that fills the reader with delight in the pursuit. I wrote a *Gardener for America*, and the vile wretch who pirated it there had the baseness to leave out the dedication. No pursuit is so rational as this, as an amusement or relaxation, and none so innocent and so useful. It naturally leads to *early rising*; to sober contemplation; and is conducive to health. Every young man should be a gardener, if possible, whatever else may be his pursuits.

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than they ever were, though they were always excellent; I promise myself the pleasure of seeing this beautiful crop growing in all their gardens, and to see every man of them once more with a bit of meat on his table and in his satchel, instead of the infamous potato.

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*the business of the Established Church!* This book has been translated into all the living languages, and there are two Stereotype Editions of it in the United States of America. This is the source whence are now pouring in the petitions for the abolition of tithes!

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